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경영학 석사학위논문

# Mobility and Compensation:

The Role of Gender and Social Capital in Korea

2016 년 8 월

서울대학교 대학원

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## Abstract

# Mobility and Compensation:

## The Role of Gender and Social Capital in Korea

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This study addresses the relationship between the number of job changes and salary change, and examines the role that gender and social capital play in this relationship. With the 550 samples from Korean firms, this study reveals the positive correlation between the number of job change and salary change. This study also investigates on the different dimensions of social capital, suing the major network theories to define different kinds of social capitals.

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Keywords: Gender, turnover, wage gap, social capital, network  
Student Number: 2014-20444

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Recently, a former founder and current managing director of McKinsey & Company, Dominic Barton, has visited Korea to talk about the future direction of Korean cooperate development. In the interview, he introduced the term “CHRO”, a new position that is as important as CEO and CFO. In his small experiment with the 300,000 resumes for McKinsey, he took out 20,000 CVs to see how different do machines rate them from humans. Of course, as expected, the machines did it a thousand times faster and more objectively. “What is interesting is that the machine is also not biased”, said Barton in his speech. “We are finding we are hiring 10% more women through the machine than we are through the humans, even the most of those humans are women”. Of course, this is only in regards to the resume – the grading system which often has more to do with the sources that can be translated into numbers:

we all know that when personal interaction skills, personality fits, and communicating skills are taken into aspects, these numbers may mean less. However, from this small experiment, we understand that there are works to be done in the HR area. The fact that humans can be biased, and are emotionally influenced by millions of factors show that there are tons of things to take into account when recruiting employees. Barton calls this, a “very big growth area in the data analytics as it relates to human resources (HR)”. Today, the field of HR and OB has become as critical as management of finance in the organizations.

It is laudable that our leading consultants emphasized the growing importance of HR management. However, the value of HR analysis has never been unsubstantial throughout history. Even Adam Smith, who is much known for his discussion of the “Invisible Hand” of the market,

talked about the importance of HR management without realizing. In 1776, Smith wrote in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, that in a pin-manufacturing industry, ten individuals with specialized task could produce 48,000 pins a day as opposed same individuals with generalized (whole-process) task could only produce 10 pins a day (Appendix A, 1436). Such division, the specialization of labor, was mentioned to show the advantages of assembly-line production processes, yet even Adam Smith did not know what it meant to the management structure at the time. Following Adam Smith, scholars became closer and closer to defining the boundaries of HRM and OB. In 1789, Robert Owen, a Welsh entrepreneur, recognized the dehumanizing realities of factory workers. He criticized the factory owners for letting children work 13-hours a day with the cheapest wage. Owen was the first to recognize the crashing

nature of human dignity and profitable management. It was only a hundred years after Owen proposed a workplace reformation, in 1825; child labor laws and community projects were passed. These movement, however they seem unconnected, were the basis for the 20C classical era in which the major theories of management began to evolve.

Moving into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the division of labor and labor structuring were more emphasized. The leading figure of scientific management, Frederick W. Taylor, wrote in his essay, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, about how meticulous calculation and structuring of labor can increase efficiency. The logic was simple and similar to that of Smith, but the theory more developed; Taylor understood the efficiency of labor division. But he also thought that in order for the workers to manufacture a complete product by dividing the labor, a worker in a task must do the



task exactly the same way as the other workers in the same task. This means that every work must be carefully designed, and no individual aberrance must occur. In such way, products can be manufactured with work design with the lowest cost while also lessening the labor cost – since no specific skills are needed for each worker to do the simple tasks.

Following is a short exert from *Scientific Management*:

*“... there are, of course, men of unusual energy, vitality, and ambition who naturally choose the fastest gait, set up their own standards, and who will work hard, even though it may be against their best interests... When a naturally energetic man works for a few days beside a lazy one, the logic of the situation is unanswerable: ‘why should I work hard when that lazy fellow*

*gets the same pay that I do and does only half as much*

*work?'''(31-33, Taylor)*

The impact of scientific management was greatly acknowledged

throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Works became easier, faster, and efficient.

Employers now had to figure out how they can systematically design the

works so that each tasks are simple, necessary for the better product.

Unnecessary steps were eliminated from the manufacturing processes.

On the other hand, such wasn't the only impact of Tayloristic thinking:

though partially unintended, employers now started to think about how

employees were motivated. In 1924 and 1932, Western Electric Company

did an experiment to determine the relationship between brightness of the

lighting and productivity of workers. In this test, the experimenters found

an unintended effect: although the lighting levels and productivity had no

consistent correlation, incentive system, less supervision, and systematic work hours were found to be in positive correlation with productivity. That is, workers worked harder and absenteeism decreased when they were paid based on individual basis. Productivity also increased as work hours were designed with few resting sessions. In addition, employees worked better with less supervision, and even when supervision was limited, workers morale increased. Though such results were unexpected, researchers found great value in controlling motivation among workers. So in 1970s, researchers started to focus on work motivation control. Reinforcement theorist such as Hamner (1974) tried to modify worker behavior through extrinsic rewards and punishments. But soon, such behavioristic approach turned to inner drives (Porter 1961: Locke 1976). Important figures in OB researches such as Vroom (1964) and Lawler

(1973) also came out with expectancy theory that incorporated individual's capability in achieving expected outcomes with maximized value outcomes. Today's motivation theorists base their studies on such reinforcement and expectancy perspectives with renewed interest in vicarious learning and personal efficacy (Bandura 1977; Locke 1980; Staw 1977).

In such line of Organizational Behavior Studies, there was limited number of outcome variables: many researchers focused on what changes the worker behavior – that is, work performance. Recently, there has been some change with such viewpoints: the outcome variables should also vary. Many would agree that employers' common focus is not only to increase performance of the workers they have now, but also to keep the status quo when the performance is good. In that sense, preventing

absenteeism and turnover is a huge issue for the modern OB researchers. I will discuss more in detail about turnovers later in the paper, but it should be noted here that outcome variables, often thought to be something so simple, are now seen more complex and difficult to define than control variables. And because more researches are needed to reveal the true processes of turnover, this paper focused on the effects of unchangeable variables on the results of turnovers.

#### Literature Review

Over the recent years, job change has become a critical issue faced by the labor markets around the world. With the diversifying job concepts, and increasing unemployment, the rate of career turnover has also grown (Auer et al., 2006). Accordingly, there has been an increased propensity

for employees to take the new jobs with more opportunities (Osterman, 1996). Such job changes occur for better reallocations of time and energy for the individual workers. Combined job change decisions make patterns in the organizational level: workers moving from dying industries to newly-formed industries help social growth as human capitals naturally condense in the growing industries. It is also true the newly formed industries generally have a higher productivity rate and better working conditions. Yet, in reality, much portion of job turnover does not necessarily result in better work conditions or efficiency. For example, most workers move their jobs to work with higher wages, or better-fit tasks, but only a few of them get the expected wages and jobs. The question here is, then, what kind of factors influences such discrepancies? Why do some workers get what they want while others don't? To answer

the question, many researchers focused on demographics, especially on gender difference in job turnover.

It is generally acknowledged that women's job change rates are higher than those of men. Previous studies on gender and turnover focused on factors that could affect these women to decide quitting or moving a career. Those factors included worker preference, childbirth, child rearing a, and family problems (Cho, Lim and Lee, 2010). And many companies as well as the policy institutions came up with programs and policies that could help women stay longer with the job, such as internal childcare facilities, shorter working hours, and paid maternity leave. Recently, a number of researchers also found that family plan is the sole source of women's higher turnover rates, and that when family plan is controlled, the turnover rate between two genders do not exist (Lee, 2012). It means

that women's turnover rates are higher and the sole reason is family plan.

This is somewhat expected, considering the fact that modern educational system as well as social atmosphere guarantee a more equal treatment of two genders than before. For example, compared to early 20C when only men were encouraged to go to college, more women receive higher education and graduate degrees today (Yale Global Online data, MacMillan, 2016). As a result, turnovers are not that of a huge issue in the realm of gender segregation.

On the other hand, resulting compensation difference between genders in the case of job change was not studied as much. As mentioned above, job turnovers can be beneficial in the industrial and social level in that turnovers contribute to new industrial growth. However, in the eyes of the industries and companies, turnovers can result in massive loss of capital,



that is, human capital. Because human capitals with higher advantage in the labor market tend to turnover first, some corporates may feel like it is losing the essential manpower in the case of promotional job changes. And because of such organizational distress, many job change researches focused on individual and internal factors that contribute to turnovers. For example, researches on women's job turnover tended to focus on motivation, intent of turnovers, and feeling of job insecurity. Nevertheless, previous studies focused less on the market or the system structure- for example, promotional opportunities difference, training and education difference, and network building opportunity differences (Reskin & Hartman, 1986).

Specifically, the network building opportunity can be very different between genders. Because men and women are not just physio-

biologically different, but also a socio-functionally different, the network patterns for each group can cause a major difference in organizations. Such social difference in genders is formed from a very early stage in life, when parents expect a certain set of behaviors from them. Children acquire gender-specific values and behaviors through others such that they learn by modeling parent's characteristics, behaving as expected by adults, and networking with peers who adopted gender-identity (Child Psychology, Hetherington Park, 2016). Such gender-specific behaviors continue to influence the individual, eventually impacting how they form social relationships with others (Lin, 2001). So it is no surprise that men and women differ in their social network patterns.

To exemplify, homophily is a theoretical concept that says people of similar characteristics tend to stay together. The characteristics used to

bind homophily may be about personality, education, goals, activities, and emotions. When a homophily is formed, it is assumed that there are cultural, behavioral, genetic, or material information shared between the members (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, 2001). Homophily is now used by researchers to explain network distance, network size, and the travel time of information resources. Most of such researches are about social networks, social movements, and organizational topics that focus on operation of such connections. Recent researchers found that although both genders have homophily (a tendency for people to associate with others who are similar to themselves such as same gender and race), men develop stronger homophily within the network compared to women (McPherson, Lovin, and Cook, 2001). It means that men are more likely

to develop connections with other men, than women develop connections with other women.

Early studies of homophily were from social experiments, in which the experimenter observes people's behaviors within an organization or community. From the observations, researchers found that people tend to sit together or share personal information about themselves with those who have similar backgrounds such as school, age, neighborhood, sex, race, age, intelligence, desires and even attitudes (Bott, 1929; Loomis 1946; Almack, 1922; Richardson 1940). As researches progressed, homophily literatures showed a unified pattern that was divided into two major focuses: first was status homophily, which included socio-demographic dimensions such as race, ethnicity, sex and age, and value

homophily, which included wide range of intentions, life goals, and motivations that shape behaviors (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954).

Among them, race and ethnicity homophily was conveyed by major network researches in United States. Researchers have shown that there exists a strong race homophily in marriage, friendships, and work relations (Kalmijn, 1998; Shrum et al, 1988; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). In an organizational field, such homophily to race and ethnicity worked as a great moderator of information sharing processes, providing ties that are not kin (Louch, 2000). Contrastingly, sex and gender homophily works completely in a different way. McPherson et al. (2001) suggests that while race and ethnicity homophily is strongly dominated by social structure such as education and income, sex and gender homophily is built by individual's voluntary association with the other gender: because

men and women share similar social class and education in general, it is  
own their own decision that gender homophily difference is constructed.

This is interesting to look at, because it shows that gender homophily is  
strongly influenced by kinships. Researchers have shown that kin ties,  
that are strong ties by blood, show no gender homophily. It is only when  
non-kin ties are formed that gender homophily starts to develop (Marsden,  
1987). It means that less-intimate weak ties are more correlated to gender  
homophily than strong, kin ties. Moreover, South et al. (1982) found that  
in an organizational setting, minority sex tend to have more heterophilous  
network than the majority of members: for example, men tended to have  
more sex homophilous networks than do women especially when they  
made the majority of the non-kin groups in organization (Ibarra, 1992,  
1997; Brass, 1985).

The reason behind this gender homophily gap is that both genders tend to use only men to climb the social ladder and accomplish tasks in the work settings (Aldrich et al, 1989; Bernard et al, 1988). And because those men who offer support and mentoring to other employees are also gender homophilous, it creates gender network difference. For example, in this pool of non-kin, weak ties setting, men are more likely to find other men who can help them achieve organizational goals due to gender homophily compared to women also needs such help. Such network difference can have impact on multiple factors such as promotion, income increase, as well as turnover decisions. Following the line of logic, this study focused on how gender-specific network patterns can influence post-turnover compensation. More specifically, this study demonstrated

how different social capital patterns can influence gender and how such difference can moderate the turnover-salary change correlation.

## Job Change

Historically, the issue of turnover was frequently associated with individual decision-making (March & Simon, 1958). In 1977, Mobley added that turnover was issue of decision making that is highly influenced by working conditions and job satisfaction (Mobley, 1977). Following empirical studies showed that satisfaction is generally correlated with the intention of turnover, but the execution of turnover mainly involved economic conditions and pensions plans (Price, 1989; Steers & Mowday, 1981; Mobley, 1982). Of course, the issue of turnover was not as conspicuous in the late 1900s, and the researchers were able to



summarize why employees quit their jobs into a single issue of satisfaction. But today, the employer employee relationships are more complex, and there are more factors that influence turnover decisions and executions. In addition, labor mobility and employer replacements have become very common, while individual's strategy to choose better options have developed as well (Osterman, 1996; Tolbert, 1996). As a result, more recent trend on turnover studies focused on turnover as a major dependent measure, rather than turnover as simply as one of many factors constructing 'job outcomes'.

In the 1980s, a major focus of turnover research was organizational commitment (Mowday, 1982). In a series of researches, Mowday explained why commitment is the prime determinant of turnover, rather than job satisfaction. Organizational commitment, according to his works,

included beliefs and understanding of organizational goals, willingness to work for the organization, and desire to stay in the organization (Mowday, 1982). However, studies that followed argued not only how these variables cannot be the sole determinants of turnover, but also how the theory is unsupported and evidence deficient even in a conceptual level (Staw, 1984). In addition, pension plans, mortgage, family plans were major factors that contributed to organizational commitment, showing that commitment and compensation as well as personal life were all inter-correlated; and that commitment can mean more than one kind of attitude and behavior. Moving on, next set of turnover studies focused on what happens to those who stay when others quit or move jobs. Researchers found that remaining employees become comparably dissatisfied with their jobs after their co-workers leave for other organizations (Mowday

and Steer, 2013). And when these stayers leave eventually, they make about the reasons for leaving as growing dissatisfaction with their jobs.

Another approach after Mowday (1981) on turnover was that turnover is not a negative outcome (Gustafson, 2002). The logic was that costs of turnover are new recruitment, training, and disruption in operations, but such costs are worthy considering what is gained from turnovers: that is, turnover yields increased skill for similar wage, increased mobility for those who stayed in the organization, and increased possibility of innovation within the new organization (Dalton & Todor, 1979; Dalton et al 1981). Innovation, especially, were shown to be positively correlated to job change turnovers. For example Katz (1982) found that sports group might lose their productivity after they remained together for many years. Turnovers helped such lost productivity come up again. Also, data from

U.S. Labor Department showed that turnover rates were the lowest for slow-growing industries when compared to other industries (Staw, 1984). Unfortunately, such idea that turnover can be beneficial in the organizational level was not developed beyond innovation. The reason was that organizational psychologists focus more on how individual managers and management teams acts upon the goal to reduce the cost of turnover, not to increase the benefits of turnover (Staw, 1984). Though no more studies were done to expand the positive outcomes of turnover, the importance of turnovers was continuously stressed by major researchers in organizational field (Pfeffer, 1981; O'Reilly, Caldwell, and Barnett 1989; Staw, 1984).

## Job Change and Salary change

Job change is an issue that many employees go or think about going through. Recently, the issue of job change has become a more a critical issue, as labor markets change and new jobs are formed everyday. As jobs diversified, and tasks more specified, the number of turnovers has also increased (Auer et al, 2006). Individual employees think about many factors such as job efficiency, wages, and promotion opportunities in deciding job turnovers. And in the decision process, the individual will make rational decision by taking the job that provides higher income and promotion opportunities. For example, recent study showed that employees' turnovers are best explained by the rewards, and labor market demands (Gerhart, 1990). Similarly, on the other side, recruiting companies will seek those who can bring skills and knowledge into the new organization. To attract the employee with skills and knowledge

needed in the organization, it is likely that the recruiting company will offer a higher wage than the old company. Of course, this is only in the case of ‘experienced turnover’: if the organization seeks recruits for entry-level jobs, it will only require a minimum qualification (Richardson, 2009). If the turnover decisions are, by rationality, made based on better rewards and promotions, it is plausible to say that number of turnovers and salary increase has a positive correlation (Hypothesis 1) (see Figure 1)

*H1. The number of job change and salary change will have a positive correlation*

The positive relationship correlation between number of job change and salary increase can be moderated by demographic factors such as gender. Doeringer and Piore (1971) wrote in their dual labor market theory that

jobs can be divided into core and peripheral works. And recent study showed that women dominate more peripheral jobs while men are more in the core job positions (Keum, 2004; Hwang, 2003). Because such peripheral jobs require fewer skills from an individual, organizations would less likely raise wages to recruit employees for that position. And since more women are in peripheral job positions, it is likely that women's turnover will have less impact on salary change. In addition, it is likely that gender moderates the relationship between turnover and salary change due to different turnover reasons. For example, women showed more satisfaction towards their jobs than men, but still showed a higher rate of turnover than men (Phelan, 1994). It is referred to gender behavioral paradox, but it could provide explanation that females make turnover decisions based on self-criteria; that is, women tend to self-select

themselves into jobs to maximize job satisfactions (Sloane and Williams, 2000).

Another interesting question to ask is the relationship between gender and job change. Many studies have shown that female employees are more likely to leave their jobs due to promotion, human capital, and wage differences than accepting better incomes (Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2007). In a study, many of the employers equated women as quitters because of the high turnover rate among female workers (Light and Ureta, 1992). Such high turnover rate was strongly correlated to family-related reasons such as pregnancy or child education (Lynch, 1992). So it is no surprise that women decides to move a career to shorten working time, loosen up the working conditions, and take care of the child, by moving to a job that gives less salary but allows more free hours. Sicherman



(1996) found that men and women's turnover numbers may not differ so much when job characteristics were controlled. But his research also stated that women and men have different considerations for turnover, which can impact turnover patterns in general (Sicherman, 1996). For example, men and women may be looking for a new job for the same reason, but women would take family-related into account more than men. Taking these social patterns and researches provided, I suggest here that gender will have an impact on the salary increase after turnover (Hypothesis 2) (see Figure 1).

*H2. The positive correlation between the number of job changes and salary change will be moderated by gender in that; the correlation will be weaker for women compared to that of men.*

## Social Capital

Social capital studies have become very popular since the 1950s, when Durkheim and Simmel first brought attention to the forms of social interactions and suggested social structures as a determinants of human behaviors (Simmel, 1950, 1955; Durkheim, 1950, 1955). Although such structural approach was only used in the sociology sector, it has now become the basis for modern network studies. Social structure, today, is understood as a combination of relationship patterns that represent human interactions. Network studies continued to enjoy the popularity among sociology researchers until the 1980s, when a call for some empirical results became strong (Salancik, 1995). The 90s answered such call, and the prominent researchers such as Coleman, (1988), Burt (1997), and

Putnam (1993) rigorously researched on the concept of social capital in the fields of economics, management, and of course, sociology (Woolcock, 1998; Burt, 2000). However, even with the popularity and the rigorous researches, researchers still do not have a unified definition of the word “social capital” even today. For example, Burt (1997) saw social capital as a social structure between two actors, with no explicit goals. Contrastingly, Bourdieu (1992) saw social capital as inseparable from the outcomes of the relationship, that is, the explicit goals of the actor. Because there are multiple viewpoints and definitions in understanding what a social capital is, many scholars warn the readers of the risk – the risk that social capital is used as a metaphor that is not suitable for empirical studies (Burt, 2000; Lin, 2001). As a result, recent studies on social network focused on developing a formal categorization

of different social capital measures. As an example, Gabbay and Leenders (2001) summarized the typology of social capital studies (see Figure 2)

According to Gabbay and Leenders (2001)' model, social structure has two subsets of approaches: tie approach and structural form approach. Structural form approach focuses on the pattern of relationships which ego is tied to alters that are also connected to each other. In addition, such relationship patterns can be largely divided into two: first is closed network that creates "normative sanctioning mechanisms", thus creates more trust (Coleman, 1988; Gabbay & Leenders, 1999). Second is the structural holes that create opportunities and control advantages (Burt, 1997). In case of the tie approach of network structure, Granovetter (1978) developed a notion of "strength" of relations. The strength of a tie, according to Granovetter (1978), is a combination of the "amount of time,

emotional intensity, and mutual confiding, as well as the reciprocal actions”. These factors may or may not be independent of each other, but they are certainly inter-correlated. Later in his studies, Granovetter acknowledged that such factors can be interrelated to each other, thus the weights attached to them should be examined. On the other hand, Granovetter also explained that, weak ties, however the factors are weighted, yield great advantages to the ego, or the “actor” in his model (1974). I will discuss more on the weak ties later in the weak ties section.

The focus of social capital studies can also be categorized by the level of analysis; that is, if the effects of network patterns are to be analyzed in the individual level or organizational level. For example, if an employee enjoys his or her career opportunities provided by the team member whom he or she worked with, this can be a network study on the level of

individual. But if it is a computer company that enjoyed the international distribution benefit due to the company's connection to an overseas mobile company, then it becomes a network study of organization. The distinction between individual and organizational network analysis becomes confusing when some relationships are intra-person-organization networks. For example, if the computer company's connection to the overseas mobile company is mediated by an individual, suddenly, this network study can become both individual and organizational network analysis. It is important that we compare the right level of networks when analyzing a complex social network patterns.

Also, previous social capital studies have focused much on the benefits of having more social networks. Recently, this trend has been turned by the voice that suggests there can be negative outcomes of networks

(Gabbay & Zuckerman, 1998; Adler & Kown, 2000; Hansen et al, 2001).

This distinguishes the meaning of network versus social capital: that is to say that there are networks that do not yield social ‘capitals’. Researchers suggest that some pattern of networks can create social liability, by creating an inhibition of an actor’s performance, goal persuasion, and knowledge sharing (Leenders, Gabbay, and Fiegenbaum, 2001). In this case, network can become a “constraint”, and an impediment of career.

Burt (1997) agrees that such network constraints can be disadvantageous to the actors. He showed in his study that having less constraints, that is, having more structural holes can provide advantages in market labor competition; by becoming the bridge between two alters who don’t have a connection, an actor can have a informational and control benefits between these two alters. But if these two alters know

each other, that creates a network constraints on the actor, in which the actor cannot share privileged information or use it to have control over two alters.

### Gender and Social capital

In recent social capital literatures, there has been some attempt to explain how social capital difference between races result in turnover difference and wage gaps (Dreher, Lee, and Clerkin, 2011). These literatures showed that the positive correlation between job mobility and compensation increase was stronger for men, especially for White male employees than for women (Dreher & Cox, 2000). Such findings were the result of network resources difference: that is, women's network



resources were found to be less beneficial in salary negotiation processes (Babcock & Laschever, 2003).

In order to understand how social capital difference occurs within different genders, researchers used two viewpoints in defining the social capital. First, Ghez and Becker (1975) used the human capital theory- that explains gender social capital difference as the result of individual ability difference. The baseline here is that people who get to the top of the system, the employees who earn more, are there because they are smarter, and possibly better educated (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Burt 1992). In this scenario, men have better social capital because they are better human capitals, that is, they are better educated than woman. Such viewpoint could be true, considering the social atmosphere that encouraged men to go to college than men (Lin, 2001). More

investments were made for men than women, thus the results were different for two genders. Here, as Burt (1992) mentions in his article, “social capital is only a contextual complement to human capital”. More social capital means better education, higher intelligence, and better place in the job market.

Previous gender literatures focused on factors that generate gender wage gap or promotion opportunity differences (Cohen et al. 2007; Peterson & Morgan, 1995; Fortin, 2008; Castilla, 2005). Among them, literatures on social capital showed a somewhat unified pattern, agreeing that men’s social capital are better than that of women’s: for example, studies have shown that women have less diversified, less powerful, less beneficial social capital than men, and receives less instrumental help for more network opportunities than men due to gender homophily (Munoz-

Goy, 2013; Brass 1985; McGuire 2000; Lin, 2001; Ibarra 1992). Such social capital difference in genders had significant impact on not only the gender wage gap and promotion opportunities, but also mentoring-opportunities, career planning and strategizing, and informational exchange (Lin, 2001; Quinlan, 1999; Poole and Bornholt, 1988).

Then the question arises: why do these gender difference in social capital occur? Lin (2001) suggests two main reasons: capital deficit and return deficit. The capital deficit refers to the process of investment difference that creates capital gap while return deficit refers to the net return rate difference for any given quality or quantity of investments. To exemplify, in some cultures, males may have more access to higher-ranking employees (thus, the higher chance of promotion) because their families invested more in their education and encouraged them to expand

their networks, while not doing the same for females (capital deficit). On the other hand, in another culture, males and females may both be encouraged in terms of the extensity of education, but given the equal education, males may receive a higher position in the organization (return deficit).

Though Lin's study showed that females do not particularly suffer from return deficit, and only receive disadvantage from capital deficit, such result cannot be generalized in the organizational sector. Lin's study represented general Chinese population and his focus on Communist Party membership or Political Social Capital may not be the case in the general organizational boundaries. Based on such supposition, I propose an investigation on whether social capital deficit or return deficit exists between different genders in the organizational boundaries. In present

study, I also wanted to see whether gender social capital deficit influences turnover results. If social capital deficit is related to wage gap and promotional opportunities in genders, then it should also impact the wage and rank change in turnovers. Thus, this study investigates if women's social capital is less resourceful than men (capital deficit), and if social capital deficit creates different results for men and women when it comes to career turnovers (Hypotheses 3)

### Social Capital Dimensions

In the past few years, there has been a growing interest in social capital in organizational context. Social capitals, a human network that yields monetary value, or provides opportunities, is now seen as much essential as other capitals in the market. Of course, there has been some

debate on how social capital should be defined and measured (Dasgupta and Serageldin, 2001). And in attempt to separate the concept of social capital from other kinds of capitals, many have re-defined the boundaries of human capital: it is now widely agreed that while human capital is created by individual distinctions, social capital is created by variance between people, and this creates a fundamental difference between human capital and social capital: while human capital refers to the individual ability, social capital refers to the individual opportunity (Burt, 1997). Eventually, it means that social capital can only be measured through relationships whether the relationship yields access to resources, information, or cognitive/career supports (Seibert, Kraimer, and Liden, 2001). In similar sense, Lin defines social capital as ‘ the investment in social relations with expected returns in the market place’, in which the

“expected return in the marketplace” takes various forms such as information flow facilitation, greater opportunity of recruitment, increase of social credentials that opens door to rare resources, and maintenance of mental health through self-recognition through surrounding networks (Lin, 2001).

But these factors are difficult to put into a single form, and some functional specificity of the network should be assumed before measuring social capital (Putnam, 2001). It means that social capitals yield different values depending on the network patterns and goals. In this paper, I focused on three different theoretical approaches to social network forms: First is the Weak Tie theory, which focuses on the strength of social ties that impacts job finding (Granovetter, 1973): here, the strong ties between people are characterized by “emotionally intense, frequent, and involving

multiple types of relationships, such as those with friends, advisors, and coworkers (Seibert, Kraimer, and Liden, 2001), while the weak ties are characterized by not emotionally intense, infrequent, and narrow relationships. The strong ties will share information relatively quickly, while the weak ties will bridge strong ties to other strong ties (Granovetter, 1973). Granovetter argues that it is these bridges that will provide a unique information and resource to each strong tie circles, and thus create a social network value, such as having the information about new job openings in a timely fashion.

Second is the Structural Hole theory that focuses on how the focal person (“ego”) can benefit from connections to others (“alters”) who aren’t connected to each other (Burt, 1992, 1997). According to Burt (1992), the “ structural hole... provide the connector (ego) with unique



and timely access to information, greater bargaining power and control over resources”, and more career opportunities. Here, it is not the ‘weakness’ of the ties but the fact that a human resource is connecting two unconnected people is the source of social capital. I will discuss more about structural hole theory at the structural hole theory section of this article.

The last network approach is the social resource theory, which focuses on the embedded resources within the network (Lin, 1982, 1999). This theory starts with a pyramidal shaped macro-social structure consisting of positions with different wealth, status, and power. The higher the position, the fewer the occupants, but the better the accessibility to other positions. In the pyramidal structure, it would be advantageous for the ego to reach upward in the hierarchy than contact sideways in order to achieve

instrumental purposes. And this reaching-upward process will be facilitated within ego's weaker ties, since weak ties are more likely to reach out vertically. Thus, similar to Burt's theory, here it is not the weakness of the ties that yield advantage, but the existence of vertical weak ties that can help ego reach the person who can help him or her achieve instrumental objectives (Lin, 1981). To summarize, the previous approaches to social capital focus on the accessibility upward, and location in the web of ties. Social network researchers used each or combination of these elements to conduct empirical studies: Flap (1988) defined social capital with the strength of ties, network size, and the resources possessed by the alters, while Gersick et al (2000) defined social capital with the accessibility to help, advice, coaching to challenging assignments.

Unfortunately, these studies only use partial factor of social capitals.

Lin, in recognition of partial measures in social capital researches, provides a construct that incorporates these theoretical approaches into one table. He argues that Burt's theory (1990) and Lin's theory (1982) created two broad line of social capital approaches: first emphasizes the strategic *location* of the individuals in a network that yields competitive advantage, while the second emphasizes the *embedded resources* within the network that creates social capital such as wealth, power, and status (Lin, 2003). The strategic location within network involves structural hole and constrains as well as strength of ties, while the embedded resources refer to contact's occupation, authority, sector and the access to resources upward (distance and reachability). The difference between these two social capital approaches can also be related to external focus and internal

focus of capitals. The view of social capital as network location emphasizes the function of “bridging” between an already established strong tied circles. It means that these bridging locations are likely to exist externally of the collective structures. This view helps explain the differential success of individuals in a normative organization (Adler & Kwon, 2002). The embedded resources view focuses more on direct and internal ties, emphasizing the cohesiveness and collectivity in pursuing certain goals (Sandefur and Laumann, 1998). By looking at both embedded resources and network location of an ego, we can now incorporate direct/indirect and external/internal connections within the network. Lin’s summary of different social capital measures is shown in Figure 3 below. Based on Lin’s warning that it would be ill advised to

choose only part of such measure as an indicator of social capital (Lin, 2003), this study focused on different kinds of social capital measures:

*Contacts at high level and contacts at other functions*

According to Burt (1992), a structural hole exists when two actors are unconnected or weakly tied to each other. When an individual connects these relationships, this individual is said to have a network locational advantage. According to Seibert, Kraimer, and Liden (2001), the basic assumption for this network advantage to occur, is that a person will always have a limited amount of energy and time to invest in social relationships. Thus, strong ties are harder for people to build than weak ties (fig. 4)

Then, how would individual structure he/her connections so that it yields the most advantageous labor market position? In the social capital resources theory, the nature of resources are embedded within the network (Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981). Rather than the strength of the tie, it is important for an individual to form a tie to the person who can help ego fulfill instrumental objectives. For example, such valuable alter can be a person who advises and supports ego in a relevant and efficient direction. As a result, an ego would invest more time and energy forming strong ties with the person who can give him/her help (Podolny & Baron, 1997). In order to provide such advices and supports, the alter must have some kind of instrumental power within the organization, or many

experiences – and therefore, likely to be an individual at high level. As mentioned before, men and women both tend to rely on male network to ask for support in the organizational sector filled with non-ties. And because male employees are more likely to form a gender homophily, it is likely that women will have less network resources that provides them the support needed for task achievements. This is why in certain political sectors, female workers rely on and use more strong kin-ties to enhance the access to the hierarchy (Lin, 2001). Basically, men's weak non-kin sex homophilous connections to other men provides them help in an organization, while women rely more on strong, sex heterophilous connections for support. Therefore, it is more likely that men have more diverse and broad network with weak tie. So when compared, more proportion of men's networks will be weak ties to the diverse departments

while women's networks will be more strong ties to narrow departmental access.

*H3-a) There will be a gender difference in social capital in that male employees will have more contacts at high level than female employees.*

*H3-b) There will be a gender difference in social capital in that female employees will have less contacts in other functions than male employees.*

#### *Structural hole*

Structural hole theory, first introduced in 1970s, defined social capital as the amount of opportunity an individual has in the job market.



Granovetter (1973), building on his weak ties theory, argued that opportunities arise when surrounding networks consist of weak ties. In an imperfect market, individuals have disconnections; the holes in the networks become opportunities for those who have connections. Such connections can be subscribed into trustworthiness, dependency, and support. Thus when an individual is positioned in such structure, he/she can use the connection, trust, dependency, and support as their own asset. Burt (1992) writes in his article, “The structural hole argument defines social capital in terms of the information and control advantages of being the broker in relations between people otherwise disconnected in social structure (page 8)”. Thus, the social capital in Burt’s view is the control that could bring people together, and information that people need about others.

The figure below is from Burt (1997)'s article on structural hole.

To briefly explain Burt's figure, James on the left has two clusters of networks, that is 1, 2, 3, cluster and 4, 5 cluster. In this model, a new employee, Robert, takes over James' job and expands social capital: he preserves the first two clusters, and expands to a three more clusters of networks. In comparing the two, Burt explains that Robert's diversity of contacts give Robert a better quality of information. If each cluster of contacts equals one kind of information, since people in the same cluster tend to share the same information, then Robert will receive more non-redundant information than those in one kind of cluster. Also, because Robert's networks are only linked through him, he will be the first to know about job opportunities, and need of one group that could be served by the other group. In the competitive market, Robert's position will yield

a greater benefits than those connected to one cluster of networks (Burt, 1997).

As mentioned before in this paper, men are more likely to form weak ties. Contrastingly, women form more strong ties with limited members of the circle. Such pattern may indicate that women tend to stay inside the network circle that limits them from becoming the bridge between distant network clusters. As a result, women will have less structural hole positions.

*H3-c) There will be a gender difference in social capital in that female employees will have less structural hole network positions*

*Weak ties*

The concept of weak ties was first developed by Granovetter (1974) in his book, *Getting a Job*. In an attempt to explain how workers find their jobs through informal contacts, Granovetter gathered a sample of male professionals, and managerial workers near Boston, all of whom have changed their jobs in recent 5 years. And from his small study, Granovetter found that informal, personal contacts were the “primary channels” for the workers to get a new job. Moreover, he also found that workers did not base their job researching by comparing rewards and costs. Rather, workers used information that was “accidentally” acquired, or through volunteer contacts. Among such informal contacts, the most influential were the ones who were in a different occupation, yet had work-related relationship with the actor. To summarize the study, Granovetter stated that the job turnover depended on the motivation of the

weak tied alters to pass the information to each other, and the strategic location of the actor in the overall flow of informal contacts (Granovetter, 1974). Here, the weak tie theory came to life: People tend to share same information with those who are the closest, and these group of people likely shares many overlapping contacts. It is likely that when information on job opening reaches one person in this strong-tied group, it eventually reaches everyone in the group. On the other hand, this means that those outside the strong-tied group may not share the same information. The information is well shared within a group of network, but it is not so in the case of between groups of networks. Thus a new information, in this case a job opening information, may flow better through weak ties than strong ties (Granovetter, 1974; Feld, 2013).

Similarly, in 1969, Lee wrote a book *The Search for an Abortionist* that discovered how women acquire rare information such as the alternatives for abortion in the region where abortions are illegal. Since abortions cannot be officially advertised, those who seek the surgery had to obtain information through close friends. In addition, these friends who share information were likely the ones who had the experience of abortion. In the attempt to draw a network structure, Lee approached the network alters as those who seek abortionist: she not only used personal interviews and questionnaires, but she also asked informal questions and made informed guesses about who might be able to help with her abortion. As a result, she found that on average, women approached approx. 5.8 number of people out of average 31 total contacts before meeting an actual abortionist. The successful chain of introduction to the abortionist

took on average six to seven steps, and three-quarters of those chains involved two or fewer steps (Lee, 1969). These contacts did not involve relatives or institutional figures such as teachers and employers, while most of the contacts were close female friends of the same age. It shows that females tend to acquire information from close relationships rather than far, professional relationships.

In addition, Organizational researches with demography showed that social capitals often affect homogeneity within group, in terms of gender, race, and age (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987). Because these network groups have homogenous source of ideas, they share similar information (Granovetter, 1973). Contrastingly, weak ties connect network groups thus forming a wider network, and enables diverse information exchange between groups. And numerous researches found that such weaker ties

yield competitive advantage in the market (Watson, Kumar & Michaelson, 1993; Nemeth, 1986; Blau 1977; Burt 1992). On the other hand, the forming of weak ties versus the strong ties may depend on variety of elements such as the personality traits, environment, and gender. Among them, gender most likely affects a person's network pattern from very young age and continues force the pattern to stay in certain way. The result is that an individual's networks differ according to their gender (Ibarra, 1992). According to MacPherson et al (2001), same genders are likely to form a homophily – that is, people in the similar group such as gender are more likely share strong network ties to each other through friendship, advice, support, and other types of relationships. In contrast, ties among non-similar people will dissolve at a high rate. Here, we can argue that homophily generates more strong ties.



In a research on gender and homophily, Ibarra (1992) found that men were more likely to form homophilious networks than women (Ibarra, 1992). This was a partially a result of sex structuring organizations – that segregated women and men into different industries, salary levels, and occupations (Bielby and Baron, 1986; Treiman and Hartman, 1981; Drazin and Auster, 1987). On the other hand, gender-based homophily already starts at an early stage of children play patterns; researchers found that girls are more likely to delete friendship choices to get into a group, while boys are more likely to add them (Eder and Hallinan, 1978). Also, both boys and girls tend to make friends by deleting cross-gender friendships. Such hemophilic behaviors persisted until they grew up, and it resulted in men's network being more gender homophilic than those of women. (Avin et al, 2015). On the other hand, women's network is more

focused on the strength of ties. While men form a broad, diverse networks built up of weak ties, women tend to build strong relationships with narrow networks.

*H3-d) There will be a gender difference in social capital in that male employees will have more weak ties than female employees*

#### Social capital and salary

If gender difference exists in social network patterns, each pattern will also impact the correlation between turnover and salary change. As mentioned above, social capitals are called ‘capitals’ because whether it is a locational benefit, or embedded benefit, social capitals yield informational and control benefits (Burt, 1992). The informational

benefits refer to easy access and appropriate timing of information acquisition, while control benefits refer to creating bridge and being in a position to control the relationship between contacts (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973; Martinelli, 1994). And because embedded values in social contacts yield higher advantage to the organization hiring, it is likely that individuals with more high level contacts are offered higher wages than those who are without. If gender creates different network patterns, and men tend to have more high level contacts, then it is likely that they are offered a higher salary increase in the case of job turnover. Accordingly, men's social capital pattern will strengthen the correlation between the number of turnovers and salary increase.

On the other hand, female employers will have more weak ties, and more proportion of their networks will consist of non-higher functions, that is,

more inter-departmental ties. Such diverse weak ties will help women workers achieve negotiation advantages when moving a career. Thus, women will have more contacts in other functions that will positively moderate the correlation between number of turnovers and salary increase. Accordingly, women will have more weak ties and thus more advantage to the structural hole. (H4) However, Burt (1999) had shown earlier in his studies that women's locational advantage does not yield positive outcomes for them. In fact, Burt showed in his study that structural holes and weak ties are advantageous only to men. This is the part in which Burt refers to as "women posed a puzzle". In his findings, he demonstrate that women employees' returns to social capital differs from men; for men, structural constraints have negative correlation with promotion, as they enjoy the full benefits of structural holes. However, the reverse is

true for women. Women have very low network constraints, showing almost a perfect structural hole. However, women's promotion takes place even later with fewer benefits with such structural hole. Burt argues that such results show that women do better with small network that is interconnected- while men do better with wide and strong networks with less network constraints (Burt, 1999). Taking such findings, and provided with previous literatures on gender, turnover, salary change, and social capital dimensions, I suggest here that different network patterns mediation to gender's moderation on salary change by turnover (hypotheses 5) (see figure 3).

*H5) Social Capital will mediate the gender moderation to number of job change and salary change in that : a) women will have less contacts at high level; b) women will have less contacts at other functions; c) women*

*will have less structural holes positions than men; and d) women will have more strong ties but result in weakening the correlation between number of job changes and salary increase.*

## Method

### *Sampling and Measures*

Total of 550 employees at private and public companies participated in the paper-survey. Each participant received a packet of 3-page survey and an instruction page that ensured confidentiality of the answers provided. Participants were instructed to complete the survey and return it directly to the first author in a sealed envelope. To encourage responses, each participant was given toothpaste with Kakao character figures that was especially designed for workplace hygiene. The toothpaste was worth 5

thousand won each. A thank you email was sent after each envelope was received.

For survey items, I used a survey packet that included 7-item self-report Career Success Measure developed by Tom Clerkin (2005), Ego Network Survey (Seibert, 2001), 2-item turnover questionnaire, and 2-item salary change questionnaire asking to report last 5 years of participant's turnover, turnover reasons, salary change (from -5 to 5 scale) each year, and current salary in won. In self-report Career success measure, the respondents were asked to report their own view as well as other's view of their current career. The 7<sup>th</sup> question also asked the career goal. In Ego Network survey, the participants were asked to write people who advised, helped, provide information and opportunity to the respondent for last 5 years. Respondents also checked if these alters are in the same

department, are higher in rank, are very close or far, and are male or female. The second part of the ego network survey asked the relationships between alters, if they're very close or not close at all.

In addition, basic demographics including age, gender, education level, school name, social status, maternal status, family status, company size, tenure, and department information were collected. The basic breakdown of the respondents was as follows: among the 550 surveys received, 342 were reported male and 189 were reported female while 19 did not report gender. Average age of the respondents was 39.6, with minimum age 23 to maximum age 66. 41.5% of the respondents had child, and 52.1% of the respondents with child was still supporting their child. In addition, all participants reported their social status as either white-collar middle class or upper class with professional job.



### *Variable Definitions and Data proceeding*

For hypothesis 1 and 2, the combined number of turnover over last 5 years was used as the independent variable, and the average salary change over last 5 years was used as the dependent variable. Salary change ranged from 20% decreased income to 20% increased income. All income/salary reports included bonuses. Gender was coded into 1 and 0 in which 0 being male and 1 being female. A regression analysis was done to show the correlation between the number of turnovers and salary change, and the moderating effect of gender on this relationship.

For social capital analysis, four dimensions were used:

*Contacts at High Level* involved the number of contacts the ego had who are ranked higher. This involved contacts in and out of the

company that the ego works. Following Seibert (2001)'s measure, our survey counted the number of 'higher ranked' network members to codify contacts to high level.

*Contacts at Other Functions* was the number of contacts the ego had that worked in a different department or area. (coded 0=same department, 1=different department) This also involved contacts in and out of the company.

*Structural Hole* was measured through structural constraints. E-Net was used for the analysis of alter to alter, ego to alter network mapping.

After calculating structural constraints through E-net, I reversed the points to calculate the structural hole that the ego has. The reverse constraints also followed Seibert's measure (1-Constraints).

*Weak Ties* was measured through ego's closeness to each alters (1=especially close, 0=not close, 0= distant). The coding of weak ties also followed Seibert(2001)'s measure of weak ties.

When all the data were collected and codified into excel, SPSS 23.0 was used to do regression analysis. For all the analysis, tenure, first salary, salary from 5 years ago, and number of network were controlled.

#### *Mediated Moderation Analysis*

For analyzing the hypotheses, I used Muller (2005)'s mediated moderation procedure. To explain the process, I used Muller's equation progresses and replaced his variables with mine. The procedure was as follows: a) the treatment variable X referred here as "NT" was the Number of Turnovers for last 5 years. b) a continuous moderator variable,

referred here to as “FE” was the gender, in which case I used female (recodified after as female =1, male =0) variable. C) A continuous mediator variable, referred to as “SC” in my case were the four social capital dimensions: the number of contacts at high level (SC\_H), the number of contacts at other functions (SC\_O) (department diversity), the number of structural hole positions (SC\_SH), and the number of weak ties (SC\_WT). Having more of each meant to have more and better social capitals. D) The continuous outcome variable, referred here as the “SAL” was the mean change of salary. So here, the overall effect of NT (number of turnovers) on the SAL (mean change of salary) would be moderated by FE(gender), and that this moderation would be due to the effect of the SC (four social dimensions).

Following the next step of Muller's analysis, I did three-step regression between the variables. The first regression was done for SAL on FE, TN and FETN (FE\*TN). The regression results are shown on table 1 in the results section.

The second step of Muller et al. (2005)'s procedure was to regress the four dimensions of SC on FE, NT, and FENT. Tables below show each of the four regressions done: The regression results are shown on table 2 of the results section.

The third step of Muller et al, (2005)'s procedure was to regress the SAL on FE, NT, NTFE, all the SCs (SC\_HL, SC\_O, SC\_SH, SC\_WT), and SCFE (SC\_HL\*FE, SC\_O \*FE, SC\_SH\*FE, and SC\_WT\*FE). All hierarchical regression steps were done using SPSS 23.0. The results are shown on table 4 of the results section.

## Results

Table 1 provides the basic descriptive statistics about the primary analysis variables through 2-tailed Pearson's correlation test. Some noticeable information were found: tenure and first salary, which I controlled from all the regression analysis, were found correlated. This is not surprising, since the value of money were different in the past, and the more recent the first salary was, the more first salary the participant would have received. Second, network size and number of turnover were found strongly correlated. This is very important for the model, since it means that network does influence workers' turnover decisions. Also, though not shown on correlation table, network size and female were found negatively correlated. This is in line with previous network literatures, and also supports the direction my hypotheses that female employees

have limited amount of network compared to male employees. This will also have an impact on the four dimensions of networks, as shown from the table: it shows that female workers have less of contacts at high level, contacts at other functions, structural hole, and weak ties because they have less number of network in general.

Table 2 shows that hypothesis 1 was supported by the data collected. The correlation between number of job changes ( $N=530$ ,  $Mean = .09$ ,  $SD=.15$ ) and salary change ( $N=531$ ,  $Mean=3.42$ ,  $SD=3.09$ ) was found statistically significant  $t(.16)$ ,  $p<0.5$ . It means that the more employees change jobs for last 5 years, the higher the salary increase rate. Such results were after tenure, first salary and salary from 5 years ago were controlled. Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the data collected. As shown in table 1, the moderating effect of female on turnover and salary

change is statistically insignificant  $t (-.13)$ . However, the direction of the effect was correct: it shows that female weakens the correlation between the number of turnover and salary increase, though the effect is not significant in this sample. Since gender here was coded as Female (yes=1, no=0), and the  $t$  value is negative, the results reads that when an employee had many turnovers during last 5 years, his/her salary increased more than those who didn't, but this increase rate was lower for females compared to men: which again tells us that even when male and female employees turnover with same tenure, first salary, and similar income level, male employees receive higher income increase than female employees.

Hypothesis 3 was not supported by the data collected: Gender was not a predictor of contacts at high level, contacts at other function, structural



hole and weak ties. Table 3 shows the regression coefficient of gender on four different social capital measures. As one can see from the  $R^2$  values, only approx. 6% of the social networks are explained by gender. This is a very small number, and even though Contacts at High Level and Weak Ties show the expected trend (females having less advantage), it is not significant, and thus must be ignored.

Accordingly, hypotheses 4 were rejected by the data collected. The results are shown on Table 4, and it shows that there is no mediating effect of social capital on gender and salary change by turnover.

## Discussion

Previous researches on turnover have focused on individual decision-making, and rational behavior based on returning compensations.

Gerhart (1990)'s study showed that employee turnovers are the combined outcome of rewards, and labor market demands (Gerhart, 1990). So it can be summarized that job changes are highly correlated to high salary changes. More employees are taking external labor market mobility, and taking the opportunities to move to a better employer with higher compensation (Osterman, 1996). Accordingly, employees who move jobs are likely to receive higher compensation, since the employers would offer better salary in order to attract more skillful workers. More recent studies show that such relationship is influenced by different factors. For example, Dreher, Lee, and Clerkin (2011) concluded that race and recruit opportunities are correlated; that is, white males are more likely to receive contacts from representatives of recruiting firms. Moreover, their findings have shown that white male

managers have compensation advantages when they are looking for a job. Support of this study's hypotheses revealed the gender's influence on the relationship between job change and wage increase. Specifically, females receive less salary increase when changing jobs. In the process, I looked at the possibility of social capital mediations of this gender moderation. Most social capital dimensions such as contacts at high level, contacts at other functions, and structural hole were all found to differ between genders in the expected direction. Such may be the reason that other social capital dimensions were found not significant; that is, some social capital effects may cancel each other out because they are using opposite social resources.

Next part of the analysis, though I did not find any statistically significant results for social capital mediated gender moderation, this

study has implication both for social capital and gender literatures: first this study provides expanded support for Lin's (2001) findings that there is a social capital deficit between genders. As Lin (2001) suggested in his book this study also found partial deficiency of social capital on female compared to male. But more than that, unlike Lin's study that used broad socio-political sector as this social capital deficit demonstration, this study has specifically shown the social deficit existence in the workplace, in which we try so hard to eliminate gender discrimination. In addition, this study did not focus on only one kind of social capital, but all social capital dimensions that were mentioned in the major social capital theories. I believe this combination of dimensions as one variable is the first step to narrowing down the

meaning of, and eliminating the confusion of the social capital, a variable that many researchers still define differently.

Second is that this study provides support for gender difference in turnover results. Though many turnover studies have shown that there are number of turnover difference between genders, not many studies focused on what comes after the turnover. The result of this study shows that turnovers are positively correlated to salary increase, but in the case of female employees, this correlation weakens compared to men. It means that female employees receive less salary increase even when both genders have similar tenure, and first salary (which were controlled for the analysis). Other than the easiest reason of high turnover expectation, some researchers suggest such gender gap in pay increase may be the result of gender difference in self pay-expectation (Major

and Konar, 1984; Jackson, Gardner and Sullivan, 1992). It is to say that because women have lower expectations than men for career-peak pay, women tend to take jobs with lower incentives than men. Another explanation could be that women's life goals are different from men. That is, that there could be a gender difference in evaluation criteria of a job, such as better income versus better working conditions.

#### *Limitation and Future Research Directions*

In case of the social capital's mediating effect on gender moderation, no dimension was found statistically significant. However, the result shows that the direction of this expectation is not out of blue. Since I had a small sample of only 127 participants, it is highly likely that the

mediated moderator effect becomes statistically significant with an enlarged sample size.

On the other hand, this study's major limitation lies within the control variables. Because many respondents left their company size and current income blank, it was difficult to use these variables as a controlled variable. An ideal study would use enlarged sample employees who work in different companies of various industries. This would enable me to examine the results while controlling the industrial and organizational factors that may or may not have impact on the salary increase.

Reflecting on why there was no statistically significant result found between gender and the social capital dimensions, I suggest three additional analysis in the future research: First, when measuring the

external market strategy, I did not differentiate between promotional turnover and general promotions. It means that there was no controls for salary increase without job change. If there were participants who had internal promotions before the turnover, and had a promotional turnover again, then the salary increase from both internal and external were counted as external turnover results. This may have affected the results – if women had more internal turnovers, then the results would come out as if women and men both received similar compensation in the case of job changes even when men received more salary increase. In the future research, all internal promotions should be controlled.

Secondly, this study used the number of job changes as the independent variable. And when the participant did not have any job change for last 5 years, their job change was counted as 0, and was compared to those



with 1 or 2 job changes. Such inclusion of non-job changers may have affected the results: since those who take the external labor market strategy and internal labor market strategy would take different routes to get salary increase, it is inappropriate to compare social capitals of these groups. Rather, sample should be divided into stayers versus leavers, and compare the number of job changes only inside the leavers group. It is likely that networks affect stayers and leavers differently, so it would be wise to compare networks of the same external strategy users.

Finally, it is possible that the network variables that I have chosen are not fit to explain gender difference. For example, I counted the number of contacts who are higher than the ego for contacts at high-level variable. However, it could be true that it is not the actual number of higher rank contacts that makes the difference, but is the actual rank of

the higher rank contacts that differentiates gender social capitals. Lin (2001) for example, used political and social job ranks such as professor vs. lawyers, political party member vs. non-party member, in his social capital deficit analysis. And in his study, the gender difference was found – men had more connection to high ranks, while women had more connections to middle ranks. But if such were to be measured in my study, they would all have been just “contacts to high level” as long as the alters were higher ranked than the ego. In the future study, more qualitative approach to social capital dimensions should be used rather than focusing on the number of connection.

Other future research of gender, social capital, and turnovers may have multiple directions to go from here: first, it is essential that the definition of social capital be unified. I used four major dimensions used

by previous network researchers, but there are a number of social capital concepts that this study did not cover. Since social capital is a broad concept of human relationships, there always will be some kind of confusion among researchers when using this variable. Also, having multiple meanings to one variable generates liability problem in that the writer can choose any kind of relationship that effects turnover and call it a social capital. To avoid these problems, more meta-analysis and thorough investigation on what defined social capital should be done.

Secondly, the recent trend in turnover researches was to focus on race and ethnicity difference. This study is meaningful in that it expanded the focus to gender difference, and salary change percentage in the case of turnover rather than good old-fashioned job performance and turnover rates. It is time for us to move on to broader kind of outcome variables,

or even more narrowed - such as turnover and salary change relationship difference between industries or recent years. Also, because the pattern of turnover are changing every day, and the reasons behind are becoming more various, it would be important to re-evaluate the previous turnover researches in a more recent context.

Another future research idea is to focus on a longitudinal method when evaluating the turnovers of a person. Because promotional turnovers mostly require an uneasy decision-making processes, it would be interesting to see what kind of factors that actually plays a role in such processes. Eventually, a more thorough examination of turnover processes would give explanations to some of the gender gap questions.

## Conclusion

This study investigated an important side of salary change and the number of turnovers. In analysis, I found that people who had more turnovers in last five years received higher salary increase, and that this relationship is stronger among male employees than female employees. Unlike previous studies of gender turnover that focused on the gender gap in the number of turnovers, this study successfully addressed that the same number of turnovers does not necessarily mean that genders are treated equally in the turnover process: rather, even when tenure, first salary, and current salaries are the same, women tend to have less increase in salary in case of turnovers. The findings of this study imply that there is a gender difference in turnover compensation. Although I did not find any evidence of network mediation, I believe that connection pattern difference in genders do have some kind of impact

on salary change. A more thorough investigation with an enlarged sample should be conducted in the future study to verify that social capital have an influence on the gender-salary change by turnover relationship. Also, this study showed that there is a gender difference in weak ties. This result is in line with Burt (1997)'s findings that women have less weak ties than men. However, Burt (1992) also mentioned that women's weak ties do not yield benefits as it does to men. This may be the reason behind women's shortage of weak ties – women use more strong ties for organizational achievements. Future research should focus on such gender difference in social capital and results.

## Tables and Figures

**Table 1**  
**Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations**

Variable	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Tenure	117.77	79.23											
First Salary	2694.22	1754.89	-.18**										
Salary 2012	4860.20	3042.41	.45**	.26**									
Industry	3.65	1.23	.14**	.02	.26**								
Number of Job Change	.09	.15	-.19**	.02	-.20*	-.26**							
Mean salary change (%)	3.42	3.09	.01	.01	-.10	-.26**	.20**						
Female (Gender)	.36	.48	-.05	-.06	-.21**	-.10**	.05	-.07					
Contacts at High-level	2.72	2.18	-.06	.07	.05	.06	-.03	.05	-.14**				
Contacts other function	2.41	2.35	.02	-.02	.01	.03	-.07	.08	-.10*	.50			
Structural hole	.57	.25	.10*	.07	-.05	.03	.00	.02	-.12**	.11**	.14**		
Weak ties	1.59	1.95	-.03	.04	-.08	-.01	.05	.10*	-.14**	.39**	.39**	.07	

a. \*\*p < 0.01

\*p < 0.05

**Table 2**  
**Results of Regression Analysis for Number of Job Change, Salary Change, and Gender**

Variables	Full Sample ( <i>n</i> = 127)		<i>t</i>
	Standardized Coefficients		
	<i>B</i>	s.e.	
(Constant)	2.17	1.28	1.69
Tenure	-.01	.01	-.85
First Salary	.00	.00	1.71
Salary 2012	.00	.00	.16
Job Change #	5.82**	1.56	.16**
Female (Gender)	.61	.52	1.17
Female x Job Change #	-.42	3.36	-.13
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.32		
$\Delta R^2$	.28		
$\Delta F$	5.56		

a. Dependent Variable: mean salary change (percentage)

b. All the *R*<sup>2</sup> values are adjusted R square values.

c. \**p* < .05,

\*\**p* < .01



**Table 2**  
**Results of Regression Analysis for Number of Turnover, Salary Change, and Gender**

Variables	Full Sample ( <i>n</i> = 127)			<i>Female</i> ( <i>n</i> = 64 )			<i>Male</i> ( <i>n</i> = 59 )		
	Standardized Coefficients		<i>t</i>	Standardized Coefficients		<i>t</i>	Standardized Coefficients		<i>t</i>
	s.e.	$\beta$		s.e.	$\beta$		s.e.	$\beta$	
(Constant)	.02		-.09	.03		-1.09	.02		4.78
Tenure	.00	-.19	-.92	.00	.07	.20	.00	-.76	-7.32
First Salary	.00	.35*	2.24*	.00	.83*	3.18	.00	-.07	-.74
Salary 2012	.00	.07	.42	.00	-.26	-.69	.00	-.03	-.29
Turnover #	.01	.71**	4.15**	.01	-.15	-.44	.00	.67	10.16
Female (Gender)	.01	.60*	2.81*	.01	.60*	2.81*	.01	.60*	2.81*
Female x Turnover #	.01	-.64*	-2.67*						
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.74			.38			.97		
$\Delta R^2$	.40								
$\Delta F$	8.71								

a. Dependent Variable: mean salary change (percentage)

b. All the *R*<sup>2</sup> values are adjusted R square values.

c. \**p* < .05,

\*\**p* < .01

**Table 4**  
**Result of Hierarchical Linear Modeling of Gender as Mediated**

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Variables	B	s.e.	t	B	s.e.	t	B	s.e.	t
(Constant)	3.80	1.53	2.48	-.05	.60	-.08	.09	.63	.14
Tenure	-.01	.01	-.10	-.00	.00	-.59	-.00	.00	-.43
First Salary	.00	.00	1.08	.00	.00	1.44	.00	.00	1.01
Salary 2012	.00	.00	.23	.00	.00	.52	.00	.00	.90
Industry	-.25	.17	-1.48	.00	.06	.02	-.03	.06	-.43
Gender (Female)	.61	.52	1.17	.01	.19	.07	-.02	.19	-.13
Number of Job Change	3.15	1.81	1.73	-.80	.70	-1.14	-3.19	1.57	-2.03*
Female x Job Change	.98	3.42	.29	2.56	1.21	2.12*	3.13	1.64	1.91
SC_High Level				.01	.01	.93	.03	.01	2.15*
SC_Other Functions				-.01	.01	-.71	-.02	.01	-1.51
SC_Structural Hole				1.27	.08	16.11**	1.17	.09	12.48**
SC_Weak Ties				.02	.01	1.84	.014	.01	1.12
SC_High level x Job change							-.16	.06	-2.46*
SC_other functions x Job change							.12	.08	1.45
SC_Structural hole x Job change							.90	.53	1.70
SC_Weak Ties x Job change							.01	.07	.15
R <sup>2</sup>		.28			.92			.93	
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.20			.91			.91	
F		3.47			63.60			49.67	

a. Dependent variable was means salary change (percentage)

b. \*\*p < 0.01, \*p < 0.05

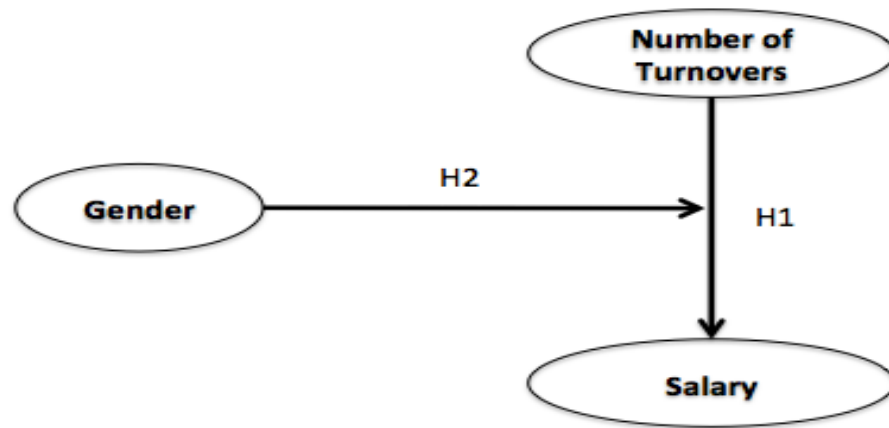


Figure 1. (model 1) Gender Moderation on Job Change (turnover) and Salary change

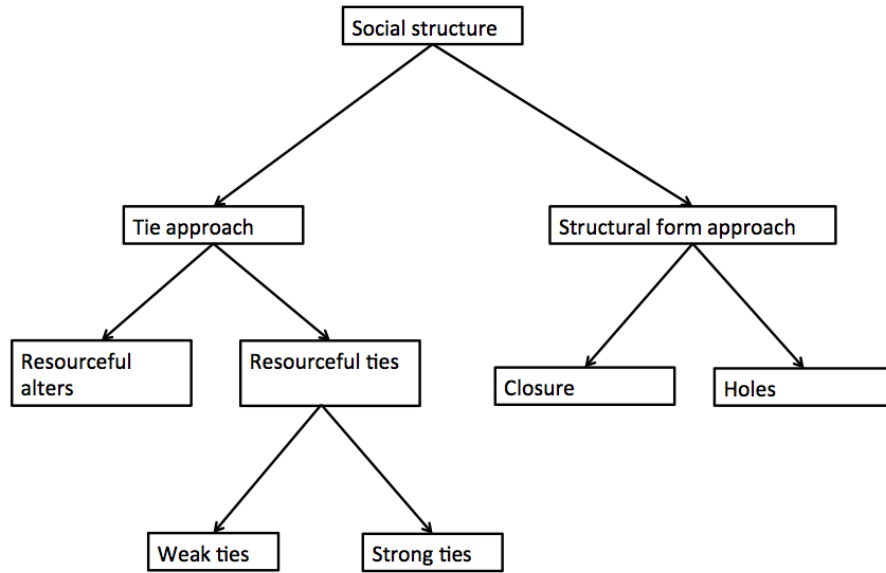


Figure 2. Social capital generic structures, Gabbay & Leenders, 2001

Focus	Measurements	Indicators
Embedded resources	Network resources	Range of resources, best resources, variety of resources, composition (average resources), contact resources
	Contact statuses	Contacts' occupation, authority, sector
Network locations	Bridge to access to bridge	Structural hole, structural constraint
	Strength of tie	Network bridge, or intimacy, intensity, interaction & reciprocity

Figure 3. Lin's Comprehensive Social Capital Measure (Lin, , 2003)

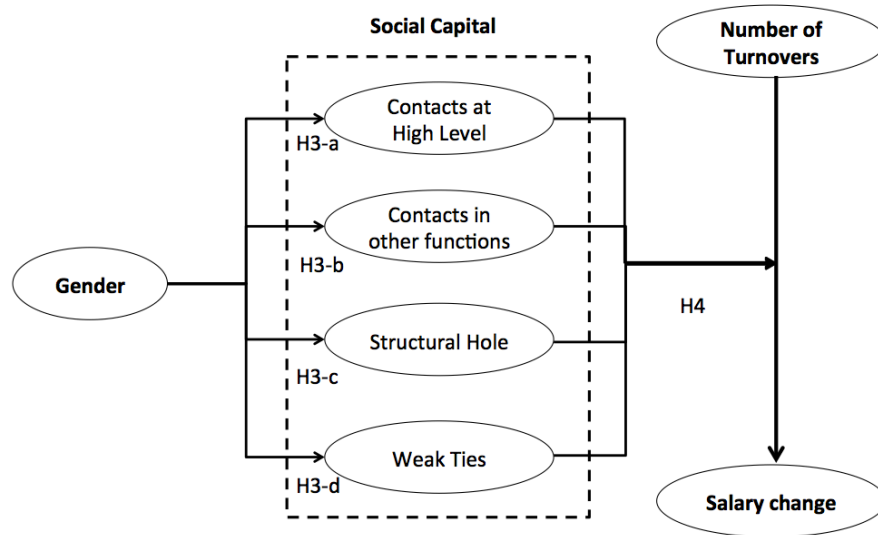


Figure 4. (Model 2) Gender Moderation on Turnover and Salary Change

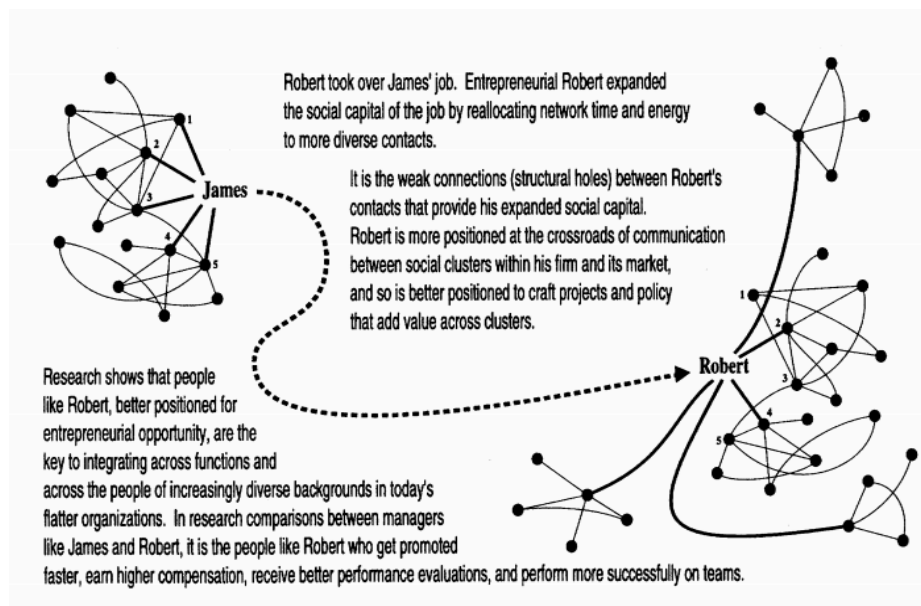


Figure 5. Burt's Network Structure Map on Social Capital (Burt, 1997)

## Citation

Adler, E, & Kwon, S. (2000). Social capital: the good, the bad, the ugly.

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